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# THE CANADIAN RAILROADER



## THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

By Professor J. A. DALE

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## Tariff Board Advantages

(By George Pierce)

TO appreciate the value of the American Tariff Board, it is necessary for us to make a detailed examination of the accomplishments of this body of experts. The study is made by the commission on the question of free zones as alternative to the present system of bonded warehouses, bonded manufacturing houses and repayment of drawbacks on exported dutiable goods of foreign manufacture, involved a careful study of the laws governing free port concession in foreign countries. Many business men were consulted and conferences were held in the principal industrial centres. Questionnaires were sent out to those particularly interested. The commission has recently recommended the adoption of permissive legislation and the report has been ordered to print. There is no doubt as to the value of this investigation to American manufactures.

No less important has been the research of the commission on unfair competition in American markets, particularly on the form which is commonly known as "dumping". In this connection a careful study was made of the nature, operation and effectiveness of the Canadian anti-dumping law. It developed that a number of Canadian merchants complained that it had prevented them from taking advantage of foreign price fluctuations and had hindered their securing favorable terms under such conditions.

Correspondence was had with Chambers of Commerce, Boards of trade, Manufacturers' Associations, and other business organizations thought to possess authentic information.

The result has been that the Americans possess the best anti-dumping laws to be found anywhere in the world.

Anticipating a great demand for knowledge on foreign tariffs and commission treaties following the cessation of hostilities, the American Board investigated the preferential provisions, economic alliances and all other subjects connected with foreign tariff relations. The preferential tariff systems of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire, the colonial tariff systems of France, Germany, Italy, Japan and China, and their effects upon American industry were carefully compiled. The valuable information gained is largely responsible for the astonishing alacrity with which the Americans are successfully invading foreign markets.

In this issue we are limited by space to the Japanese investigations made by the board.

The report on the Japanese situation begins with the occasion of the evolution of the Japanese tariff policy which is followed by a descrip-

tion of Japanese tariffs as in force today. Since 1899, the Japanese Government has steadily increased the rates of the customs duties and adopted other of the devices which, in commission policy, are intended to increase the revenues from foreign trade and to encourage the development of home industry. Following through the exactments of 1897 - 1906 - 1920 it gives special attention to the commission treaties of 1911. The changes which have taken place since then are carefully tabulated. The clear effects of the various laws as affecting imports, the drawback system, bounties, and special encouragements of production and export are shown. The report on Japanese trade is divided into three sections. The first deals with the development of Japan's foreign trade from 1856 to 1915, the second deals with the expansion of Japanese foreign trade during the war by groups of merchandise, comprising raw, semi-manufactured, and manufactured articles more or less related to each other, while the third section shows the character of trade between the United States and Japan. An appendix contains a number of tables and charts, giving a bird's-eye-view of Japan's foreign trade for a series of years by continents and countries, groups and character of merchandise. Is it any wonder then that the United States has greatly diminished her imports from Japan and tremendously increased her exports? With the information at hand, American cotton, iron and steel manufactures have established extremely lucrative Japanese business in spite of the subventions, regulations, and subsidies practised by the Japanese Government.

Canada is a young and growing country. What with our enormous natural resources and the progressive manufacture, the hardy, efficient Canadian workmen and Canadian agriculturists, there are no commercial heights to which we may not legitimately aspire, but we need to lay the foundations for our future commercial greatness scientifically. We must put a premium on knowledge and a discount on ignorance. To develop methodically and logically we need to base all industrial expansion on accurate knowledge of what our competitors are doing. A scientific advisory Tariff Board modelled closely upon the lines of the American Board, is the only avenue which will point the way. The workers of the Dominion of Canada are struggling valiantly to secure the appointment of such a board.

We must not be charged with working for class legislation, because all thinking men recognize that the establishment of a Tariff Board would be a benefit to all classes of Canadian society.

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## Canadian Press Conference Wirepullers Busy Trying To Put Things Over On British Journalists

(By KENNEDY CRONE)

**A**N effort is being made by Canadian wirepullers in London to have the members of the National Union of Journalists reconsider their decision to decline to send delegates to the Empire Press Conference in Canada this summer.

Railroader readers will remember that the National Union, the largest organization of journalists in the world, with more than four thousand members, and which is part and parcel of the organized labor movement, declined to appoint representatives to the conference on the ground that the unionized journalists of Montreal and other Canadian centres, would not be represented at the conference, which was to be in the interests of publishers rather than of working journalists.

It is most unlikely that the wirepullers will be successful. It would be a peculiar situation indeed for representatives of unionized journalists to come 3000 miles to sit in a conference which ignores their comrades, the unionized journalists of Canada, and the Canadian organization of which conference is largely directed and controlled by confessed anti-unionists plotting for the downfall of unionism amongst Canadian journalists.

### Poor Blunderers

It is learnt, too, that an effort is being made to have journalistic representatives of the London Daily Herald, the organ of organized labor, at the conference in Canada. What poor, blundering psychologists and tacticians are some of those publishers and their representatives! In everything they have done to date, framed with a view to spoiling the game of Canadian union journalists, they have actually played up the union game beautifully, though they are, of course, much too shortsighted to see that. The effort to bring labor press journalists from Great Britain, while ignoring the labor press journalists of Canada itself, is a feature which will do good to the heart of Canadian union journalists, because it will eventually inform British organized labor in general that certain publishers are trying to double-cross the labor movement, and no publishers are big enough or wily enough to do that successfully for any appreciable length of time. As to the British National Union of Journalists these certain publishers have merely informed it that there Canadian unions on its own lines, and have set afoot a substantial movement for official connection between the British and Canadian organizations.

### Mere Lists of Names

Why is that some of the more wideawake Canadian publishers do

not take more active part in the organization of the Empire Press Conference and try to find the little niggers in the woodpile? Some of them give their names to build up impressive-looking committees, but that is about the limit of their interest. Journalists know that many committees with long lists of notable names are as dead as doors so far as the owners of the notable names are concerned, the real work (sometimes there is no work at all) being done by a small clique of scene-shifters who fashion the stage to suit themselves. There is no make-believe about trade unionism. Union officers and committee members may be obscure personalities, but you can bet your last cent that they are picked because of their knowledge and keenness in relation to the cause with which their names are associated. There are no pretty figureheads amongst them; they are workers and planners, on the job all the time, and what they do not know about the job is not worth knowing. The example of trade unionism might be well applied to other public objects; to begin with, let's have Canadian publishers and their political and other associates applying it to the Empire Press Conference.

### Progress of movement

Unionism amongst Montreal journalists is stronger to-day than when it was first introduced about a year ago, in spite of—sometimes because of—attempts to undermine it by obvious persecution, or by the more subtle forms of opposition campaigning. The day has already gone by when it could be destroyed, and those who are still working to destroy it are merely placarding themselves as champions of a forlorn hope. The local union, Newswriters Union No. 10, which is chartered by the International Typographical Union, has linked up thoroughly in the counsels of organized labor. It has its delegates on the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, and one of its vice-presidents is also vice-president of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Montreal. It is officially recognized by the Federal Department of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It is represented on the Ontario and Quebec Conference of Typographical Unions, and will have its delegates at the conference in Hamilton, Ont., this summer. It will also be represented at the annual convention of the International Typographical Union at Albany, and at the American Federation of Labor convention in Montreal. Important developments are under way in co-operation with International headquarters at Indianapolis. During the year another union

of journalists has been founded at London, Ont., and at the present time applications for charters are on file from two other Canadian cities, the names of which will not yet be given as the enemy likes best to get in at the birth and smother the infant. You do not read these things in the daily papers, but what's the use of worrying?

### Brotherhood Spirit

During the first year of existence of the Newswriters Union of Montreal, there has been established by the union a spirit of brotherhood, of mutual service, such as never existed before in local journalism, or, for that matter, in Canadian journalism generally. If there are those in the newspaper business or elsewhere who say that that is not of importance, the answer is that nothing progressive can be accomplished without brotherhood and that nothing progressive is impossible of accomplishment with it.

Although a wonderful stride forward from the old state, the spirit has not yet developed to its full expression, and the duty ahead is to see to it that full expression is quickly reached, as it can be reached, and as it shall surely be reached if the experience of the past year is any augury for the future. One of the oddities of the situation is that there are journalists who talk and write much about brotherhood and service, but are opposed or apathetic to the only brotherhood of the men and women they work alongside every day. Amongst the members themselves brotherhood has been expressed, amongst other ways, in fine loyalty to the organization in times of acute test and often at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience.

The union has thus passed through its most serious moments successfully, and the future is concerned only with developing a structure already so firmly built that it is willing to face any wind that blows. There was a time, as in the history of most new movements, when it would have been possible to destroy the union by opposition from without or weakness from within; the union is still open to hard knocks, but it will survive them all.

The economic and other working conditions of practically all local journalists have been greatly improved during the year, though they are not by any means as satisfactory as they should be, and efforts will soon be made to secure further improvement. The improvements already gained have been effected by the union either directly or indirectly; no amount of fine phrasing can convince intelligent persons otherwise. Some non-unionists have benefited, too, from the changes in conditions, and a serious moral question confronts them—whether it is a fair deal to accept what their union comrades obtained for them and still stand aloof from those comrades.

One of the latest rumors in relation to unionization of journalists is that some employers are making it a condition of taking on a new journalist that the journalist will not join a union. The various unions have no evidence that the rumor is correct, but if they get it they will very quickly put a stop to this revival of the days of slavery. There are few things more vulnerable to-day than a contract of this kind, and few more likely to rouse the ire and definite action of every trade unionist.

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## A PEOPLE'S PARTY

(By HOWARD FALK, Director of Dept. of Sociology, McGill University.)

To the Editor of the Railroader:

The Politicians are frightened! There is hope! In every nook and corner of the Dominion, unseen, unheard, diffident, and utterly unconscious of their power, could be found men and women who had almost relapsed into despair; men and women who did not shout their patriotism from the house-tops, but expressed it in a thousand ways in terms of sacrifice and service; men and women who thought it was impossible that the sacrifices of the War were being made in vain; men and women who before the War sorrowed at the sight of human misery, but who accepted it as a more or less inevitable sequence in the development of our country.

The War came. For such as we speak of it has not been just a period in their lives, during which a different value of life was required, it has been an incident in their lives which emphasized a truth half concealed, or gave birth to a new meaning to life.

For them, the Brotherhood of Man has survived beyond the moment when, in the agony of war, amidst common danger and common sorrow, on battlefield and at home, the barriers of class and creed were broken down and forgotten. For them, it is now today as vile and unthinkable that babies should starve for milk, and girls sell their bodies for food and shelter, as that our Canadian soldiers should have suffered overseas from the scamped work of an Army contractor. But babies are dying every day; every night, girls are selling their souls and bodies, every day women are toiling in shop, store, and factory, to put food in their children's mouths; every day some young mother learns that her babe, her first born, is blind or maimed from syphilis, because the double-standard prevails, and her husband had infected her. We might go on indefinitely citing the tragic episodes which go to make the sum total of human misery.

It will not suffice to answer that it is this one's fault, or that one's, — it is our fault, the State is at fault, and we are the State.

When men lose confidence in each other, then anarchy is abroad. We need not fear the avowed anarchist when the mass of public opinion is solid, and men divided into two political parties strive honestly to serve their country; but when no party, no one leader, can win the support of a majority of the electorate, then we may tremble for the future.

A National Liberal Conservative party will never meet the needs of the hour. Sir Thomas White's suggestion is the inevitable result of the success of the Farmer-Labor groups in the Ontario elections.

The formation of such a party is the main hope for the preservation of Capitalism — it would be immensely wealthy, it would have the daily press almost solidly behind it, it could afford to promise concessions to all its natural enemies. It will adopt a highly benevolent and paternalistic attitude towards organized labor and organized farmer. If the Unionist Government suddenly capitulated to Mr. King's demand for an election, and out of the ashes of the Unionist Government grew, sphinx-like, a National Liberal Conservative Party, it would probably get a working majority; not because the majority of the people of Canada want such a party, but because it would have no organized opposition; with its opponents it would be as with the Allies until Foch took command of the entire Allied forces.

Where is Foch's counterpart? Is it possible that, recognizing the danger, King, Crerar, and Moore can meet and persuade their followers to join forces under one or the other? The writer has sufficient acquaintance with all three to know that Mr. King, with the soul, the vision, the sense of social justice which possessed him as Deputy Minister of Labor, in 1906, could lead a People's Party to a

glorious victory. Mr. Crerar and Mr. Moore would probably agree on that point; but they fear, and others fear, the effect of the last 14 years. Mr. King's political experience undoubtedly singles him out as the best choice of the three. In our enthusiasm we had almost imagined the triple entente a fait accompli. That it is possible we have no doubt, after analyzing the respective platforms of the three parties they represent.

Mr. King is leading a forlorn hope; he is as it were the commanding officer of a battalion, all of whose companies except one have been decimated, the one company which remains unscathed being forced to remain with his battalion or fight as a unit by itself. One can realize how hard it would be for Mr. King to sacrifice his command so soon after his elevation, but one cannot help wondering if

the men and women of whom we spoke at the beginning of this article would not rally to his captaincy of a company which, allying itself with the companies represented in the political army by the Labor and Farmer groups, would form a formidable battalion. Such a battalion could choose its own commander from its company officers, and once again Mr. King might find himself elevated to the superior rank. And, if not, would Mr. King find more opportunity for service to his country as leader of the old "Liberal" party, in or out of office, than as, say, Minister of Labor or Health in a People's Party under the leadership of Mr. Crerar?

Let us review the situation. We have suggested the existence of a large number of thoughtful, serious people with no particular political affiliation; we have held out a warning as to the danger of the return to power of the same group of politicians disguised in name only. We have suggested, nay we had almost completed, an alliance of the three groups who should be the actual enemies of capitalism, namely the manual workers, the farmers, and the professional and salaried classes. We have suggested that a leader is available if he can be actuated by the righteous passion for justice which he may have inherited from his forbear William Lyon MacKenzie, rather than by the political craftsmanship which he learnt from Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Let us assume that our ideals have been consummated, that a People's Party is in power, with capitalism on the opposition benches. Will success at the polls achieve the salvation of the Dominion's future? No! Will legislation rapidly transferring wealth from those who have it to those who have not achieve it? No! Shall we be any better off than we were before? No! Not at once, and perhaps not later, that depends on something more than the personnel of those who represent us on the Government benches in the House of Commons, at Ottawa. That something which we shall call the "individual's incentive to industry" will form the basis of a succeeding letter.

Howard Falk.

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# Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own Correspondent)

The most interesting political event of the week has been the Temiskaming by-election and the sweeping victory therein of Mr. Angus Macdonald the U.F.O.-Labor candidate. Owing to the remoteness of some polls the final figures are not available but with all save a fraction of the returns in Mr. Macdonald has clear majority of above 2000 over the government nominee and comes within appreciable distance of polling as many votes as the candidates of the two historic parties together. The result furnishes signal evidence of the real uprising of democratic sentiment against a purposeless and reactionary government whose progress all observers of politics save blind partisans have noted.

Before the war in the good old days of bi-party strife no Government, Liberal or Tory would have had any difficulty in carrying a frontier riding like Temiskaming. Constituencies of this type are always hungry for railways, roads and public works and such largesse flows only from parties in power. A few timely promises and some contracts judiciously let or a branch line subsidized would turn the trick. If ever as sometimes happened e.g. In

the Fort Williams riding in 1911, the election in such a constituency was deferred, it usually fell by acclamation to the party victorious at the general election.

But happily this unfortunate state of affairs no longer prevails. The plain folk of Canada have reached a stage, when political bribery of the time-honored sort is a waste of effort with them. They will not look at the bait or be turned from their settled purpose of securing representatives and a government who will make an effort to carry out their wishes and realize their ideals. They are sick and tired of the old parties and their manoeuvres and hypocrisies are as much interested in their orations and platforms as in two sets of ancient bagpipes.

Three Ministers, Messrs. Meighen, Guthrie and Blondin as well as numerous private members of the Coalition invaded Temiskaming to bewitch the doctors with their rhetorical spells but all they accomplished was to provide practice in heckling for the stony hearted electors. Mr. Meighen spares himself not in by-elections, but he is obviously no vote getter. His colleagues however always contrive to put him like Uriah in the forefront of battle and stay safely at home. Why do not Messrs. Calder and Rowell try the effect of their plausible tongues upon some constituency and let poor Mr. Meighen have a rest? There should be some division of sacrifice and labor. The Government were prepared to lose the election but what strikes a real chill to their hearts is the size of the majority. The late Mr. Cochrane held the seat in 1917 by 7025 to 4868 and now the governmental nominee polls two sevenths of the votes. It bodes ill for them in many Ontario seats at the next elections and the result will encourage Labor candidates to spring up in every industrial constituency. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the result is the

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failure of the Liberal to make a decent showing. Mr. Slaght was reported to be a very good candidate; he is a lawyer of standing, a old time partner of Sir Henry Drayton, he had platform ability, he had resided in the constituency for some years and he was expected to have the valuable handicap of a solid French-Canadian vote which embraces 30 per cent. of the electorate.

Yet the results show that either he polled the French vote and nothing else or that he lost a large part of it. The lesson would not be lost on Mr. King and his followers. The equilibrium in Canadian politics is now well to the Left, to apply the terms of continental politics, and when an electorate, having made up its mind to punish the Government, has the choice of two alternate opponents of it, it obviously prefers by a large majority the candidate with the more advanced opinions. Mr. Macdonald is an avowed Socialist and advocated a programme which if he had been in Winnipeg last May, would have landed him before Mr. Justice Metcalfe. It is patent beyond dispute that the radical movement in Canada has gone deep and as long as the matter upward rise of the cost of living continues as it will gnaw into the vitals of existing social and economic arrangements, acute political insurgency will not abate.

Yet the Government has neither the capacity nor inclination to meet the situation with clearcut progressive policies; half of them are thinking of a happy retirement from public life, others, are casting around

for suitable jobs and some are trying to insure against complete wreckage of their political careers with the result that the interests of the country receive scant consideration. The Cabinet has no contact with the people and the fierce discontent which rages with the existing economic order is a closed book to them. They are pained beyond measure to find that the electors are not interested in their war record but want to hear something about their peace plans. In fact the Cabinet and the Coalition have become completely unrepresentative and the time has now come when active steps should be taken to force them to the country, and end the present farce.

In the debate on the address from the Throne, Mr. King moved an amendment calling for an immediate election and though supported by the full strength of the independent group saw it voted down by the obedient Government cohorts.

Sir Thomas White and others expressed the opinion that Mr. King was not in earnest in his desire for an election but he has now the opportunity to refute their charges. In 1911 the Conservative party by holding up supply forced Sir Wilfrid to go to the country on the reciprocity issue. It is true that the closure rules now existing were not then in force but so weak is the Government that if the Opposition really set itself to the task of compelling the Government to face the electorate it must succeed in its object. Before the session ends Mr. King will have other tests to pass through and his future greatly depends upon his attitude on the budget. If he were to inaugurate and persevere in an energetic campaign both inside and outside the House to force an election he would enormously strengthen his position in quarters where he is now weak.

It is time that the people of Canada began to realize the true facts about our financial position. According to the figures presented to the House of Commons recently by Mr. Sifton the gross debt on Feb. 29, 1920, was \$3,149,089,989. National assets on the same date were estimated at \$1,223,103,065 and the net national debt was put at \$1,915,995,923. The estimated interest charges for the fiscal year are \$105,000,000 which means that the average interest on the gross debt is a little over

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3 per cent. But the returns collected from national assets and securities valued at close upon one and a quarter billion dollars are only \$14,000,000 or an average of slightly more than one per cent. Clearly many of our assets are quite unproductive; items on the loan and investment accounts of the C.N.R. and G.T. railways are cheerfully kept on the credits. When they have no interest value of any kind and probably never will. In fact some of the items which appear on the asset side of the ledger are in reality burdens. It is completely misleading for the government to put our net debt at a little less than two billion dollars. It deceives no practical financier and why should the public be misled? Any private firm which presented a balance sheet on these lines would be described as dishonest and the Ottawa Citizen very properly calls for a more straightforward method of presenting the national accounts.

There was a very meagre attendance when the House reassembled on April 6th and a quorum was with difficulty maintained. Further progress was made with a variety of minor bills including amendments to the Canada Shipping Act, a measure

to settle a dispute between the Federal Government and B. C. over Indian lands. Mr. Rowel also piloted along in his capacity as spokesman for the Ministry of Health. An amendment to the Food and Drugs Act which excited some light criticism. But generally the proceedings were highly uninteresting. The Senate also resumed its arduous labors. It was informed by Senator Robertson that pursuant to the recommendations of the Conference last year, a further conference will soon be called at Ottawa to begin the task of co-ordinating the labor laws of Canada.

Wednesday was a brief day, the House rising at six. Mr. Donald Sutherland moved a resolution asking for a better administration and allocation of the Dominion experimental farms and claimed that discrimination had been practised against the province of Ontario.

Mr. Tolmie, who has already acquired the proper front bench manner when answering attacks, denied the charge and gave an interesting defence of the work of the experimental farms. Apparently their researches have saved the country enormous sums of money. The debate was adjourned to make way for Dr. Manion with his annual resolution calling upon the Government to initiate a vigorous policy for the development of our natural resources. What the member for Fort William really wants is a system of bounties on ores which would bring great delight, even if it costs the Treasury some millions, to all his mining constituents in the Thunder Bay region. Dr. Cowan of Regina participated in the decision and had a hard word for the absent Premier. He declared that he had with his own good Tory ears heard Sir Robert solemnly promise that he would, if returned to power, give the prairie provinces their natural resources and the pledge was still unfulfilled, all of which is very sad to contemplate.

On Thursday it was announced that evening sittings on Wednesday

would commence April 21st which is a sign that the session will not be very prolonged. Subsequently the Bulgarian Treaty received its third reading. Then consideration on the Franchise Bill in committee was resumed and a running discussion was kept up on various points. There were some amusing interludes. The Chief Electoral Officer established under the Act is to be Mr. F. H. Gisborne, who is Parliamentary Counsel for the House of Commons.

It happens that Mr. Gisborne is Chancellor of the Diocese of Ottawa and Mr. Jacobs thought that he might be disqualified as being an ecclesiastic within the meaning of the Act. Mr. Doherty refuted this view but Mr. Jacobs pointed out that neither a Catholic like the Minister nor himself a Jew was qualified to settle the status of an Anglican dignitary. Mr. Jacobs kept referring to the "Rev. Mr. Gisborne" and Mr. McIsaacs suggested that the term ecclesiastic might be stretched to apply to Mr. D. D. McKenzie who had once occupied a pulpit. Mr. McKenzie is not easily caught napping and he retorted by informing the House that the said Mr. McIsaacs had once attempted to enter the priesthood but had been rejected by the higher authorities on the ground of his unfortunate unfitness a fact which the sage from Prince Edward Island was evidently not in a position to deny.

On Friday April 9th Sir George Foster made an important statement upon the question of additional gratuities to soldiers. He stated that the Government had come to a definite decision against granting further cash gratuities as the Cabinet consider a cash bonus involving from 400 to 1000 millions out of the question. The relief now being given will continue, and improvements in the present scale of public assistance and methods of re-establishment in civil life will be carefully considered by the special parliamentary committee which has again been set up. This decision is not like-

ly to be acceptable to the veterans, who will be heard from on the subject. Plans are now under way for the consolidation of the numerous veteran bodies into one coherent unified organization and if they succeed, the position of the soldiers to exercise pressure upon the government will be vastly strengthened. Mr. Mackenzie King intimated that he desired to make a statement on the question.

The day was consumed in consideration in committee of the less contentious clauses of the Franchise Bill. Mr. Fielding suggested that where a number of vacancies occurred about the same time, the by-elections should be held on the same day but Mr. Guthrie could see no reason why East Elgin should not be content to be disfranchised for some months. Mr. Denis of Joliette wanted the deposit raised from \$200 to \$500 and Mr. Best of Dufferin for one agreed with a French-Canadian. However Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Sexsmith and Mr. Gould took the other view and the clause stood with the deposit unchanged. Mr. Mackie of Edmonton wanted some method which would enable deputy returning officers to obtain their ballot boxes in time.

At the suggestion of Mr. King the penalties for fraud in dealing with ballot papers were made more drastic imprisonment for not less than one and not more than five years without the option of a fine disfranchisement for seven years. A clause about voting certificates allowing a candidate's agents to vote in other polls than their own excited controversy and was postponed. Mr. Cockshutt abandoning his usual conservatism raised the point of the injunction that ballot should be marked only with a black lead pencil. Why, he asked, should voters be disfranchised because they used blue pencils or fountain pens as had sometimes happened. Mr. Guthrie admitted the reasonableness of the point and the clause stood over. So far the bill has had a most harmonious passage. Certain Ontario Tories are indignant at what they regard as its undue leniency towards aliens and defaulters and will move an amendment asking for more drastic disfranchisement but the Government will stand to their guns. The soldiers members are not in favor of disfranchising defaulters and it is realized that the latter were to be found elsewhere than in Quebec. In the Senate a bill was introduced to set up divorce courts in Ontario and Prince Edward Island, but it will probably be blocked.

J. A. Stevenson.

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GEO. PIERCE, Editor.      KENNEDY CRONE, Associate Editor.

## Pensions of G.T.R. Men

IT would be a petty and unkindly position to take, that of opposing the demand in the Commons for a return of pension rights to Grand Trunk men who lost them on account of the strike ten years ago, and there is not much likelihood that the demand will be seriously opposed. The following summary of the news relating to the presentation of the demand in the House is taken from the *Gazette*:

"Much of the afternoon session of the Commons on Monday was spent in discussing Col. John A. Currie's resolution asking that the Grand Trunk be required to return to their former pension status the men who had suffered through taking part in a strike in 1910. If necessary, he wanted the amount placed with the arbitrators as a debt against the Grand Trunk when the Government took the road over. Col. Currie had plenty of support on his resolution, among the speakers being Hon. Mackenzie King, who was Minister of Labor when the strike in question took place, and Hon. T. W. Crothers, former Conservative Minister of Labor.

"Hon. C. J. Doherty said there was no reason to doubt the validity of the men's claim. It was a liability, he said, on behalf of the Government. The matter would be brought to the attention of the arbitrators and every facility would be given to press this claim as a liability, not only as a legal, but also as a moral or equitable claim. Col. Currie's motion was withdrawn."

## Blaming Labor for H. C. of L.

IT is still being argued that higher wages are responsible for the higher cost of living, although investigations have repeatedly shown that even in occupations where increases of wages have been greatest since 1914, these increases have rarely kept pace with the increase in the price of necessities.

The increase in the cost of living in Canada since 1914 has been, roughly and on conservative estimate, 112 per cent. In the case of some important staples like bread, sugar, milk, butter and bacon, the increase has varied from 120 to 350 per cent.

The Gazette harps on the vicious circle as being of labor's own creation. But how many occupations can the Gazette name in which the workers have received wage increases totalling 112 per cent. since 1914?

Not one of the 14 trades and crafts represented in the Gazette office itself—those of printers, journalists, pressmen, press feeders, bindery workers, stereotypers, electricians, photo-engravers, artists, proof readers, telegraphists, stenographers, advertising solicitors, clerks—has received wage increases approaching a total of 112 per cent.

In the organized trades and crafts the average increase has been more like 50 per cent., and in the unorganized it has sometimes been as low as 25 per cent. The Gazette, too, is the best newspaper office in Montreal so far as wages are concerned, with the Star and the Standard running as second, the Herald as a bad third, and the French papers tagging away in the rear.

Before newspapers talk of labor's inordinate demands and blame labor for the higher cost of living, they should do a little self-examination in relation to their own employees and use that as a starting point for the wider investigation.

K. C.

## The Men on the Big Mogul

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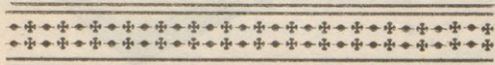
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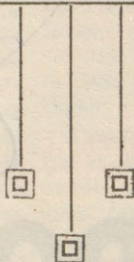
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## Workmen Have Made Cooperative Stores Pay In England

(By Hugh Woodstock, in "Dearborn Independent".)

Workmen in Britain and Continental Europe have really made a success in buying goods collectively — in running their own stores. These stores now number into the thousands with a business going into hundreds of millions of dollars. They began in a small way years ago and have become prosperous out of this saving.

In Great Britain alone the co-operative stores, if taken together, contain more capital and do a larger turnover than any other enterprise, with the possible exception of the liquor industry; in Russia it is the one stable thing which has stood fast through fire and torment, and promises an avenue for a resumption of international business.

The birth of modern co-operative stores is romantic enough. In 1844, twenty-four poor men of Rochdale, in the north of England, most of them flannel weavers, stared haggardly into the desperate poverty of the times—for them—and decided to make an experiment. They appointed from their number a treasurer, and brought to him their subscriptions, two cents one day, three cents another; in similar amounts they brought these tiny sums from a few others. The scraped together a capital of \$140.

Think to it! Twenty-four poor flannel weavers and \$140, and a plan to revolutionize the business methods of two continents. There is a thrill at the thought of that meagre capital—what would it do for you today!—and the little store

they opened with it in Toad Lane, Rochdale.

Yet by 1906, there were 1,400 such stores in the United Kingdom, and their sales for the year exceeded \$315,000,000.

The little Lancashire shop at first sought only to supply its members with their wants—bacon, candles, shoes and so forth; what they actually did, as the idea spread, was to improve vastly the position of millions of the working class by enabling them to obtain their provisions cheap and pure, to avoid the millstone of debt, to save money, to pass from retail to wholesale trading, and from distribution to manufacturing, building and house-owning and banking.

The membership today is nearly 3,000,000. That means 3,000,000 families in the United Kingdom—upward of 15,000,000 souls, buy as a unit, on the co-operative plan, get their little metal checks with their purchases, and cash these in at stated intervals for their "dividends" or else build up their bank account, with the knowledge that their money is conservatively used in extending yet further the reach of the idea.

Co-operative societies, in the technical sense—as used here—does not cover associations which are primarily for social, provident or religious purposes—such as the Communist experiments in the United States, but does cover societies for the production of wealth, such as agriculture, manufacturing, retail or wholesale distribution, building or house-owning, raising capital, etc.

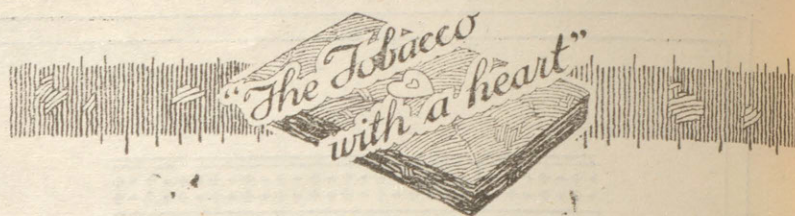
These workmen's co-operative stores, or distributive societies (referred to as the "Co-Op") flourish all over the country; practically all of them are registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, which constitutes them co-operative bodies, with limited liability, and fixes \$1,000 as the maximum any member may hold in the share capital.

Their government is democratic, based on one vote each, for man and woman, their members or shareholders, and the committee-men or directors are almost exclusively the more provident of the working class.

### Share in Profits

Their method is modeled on the original Rochdale plan, with modifications. It varies slightly in different societies, but the following is a general working basis.

Membership is open to anyone who pays a small entrance fee (25



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cents) and signs a pledge for a \$5 share, which can be paid for out of the profits. For years it has been possible for any member to withdraw his shares in cash at par. With each purchase the member is given metal discs (sometimes paper) equivalent to the amount spent, and at the end of each quarter this stack of metal discs, or book of paper coupons, exactly represents the member's expenditure with the co-operative society during that period. At the end of the quarter, a limited interest (never more than 5 per cent, and frequently less) on shares and, in some societies, paying a proportion of profit to the employees, the surplus is divided to the members in proportion to their purchases. In some societies non-members can cash in their discs also, but for half-dividends.

Thus there is every incentive for the member to do all the purchasing at the "Co-Op," since the money spent becomes a sort of capital, which draws interest in proportion to its size; and also there is the incentive to bring others there to purchase also, since the more members, the bigger the operation of the store, the better the wholesaling facilities, and the larger profits—which, analyzed down, means the cheaper the cost of living. Stripped, it means the member is getting the goods at cost; and the cost is low in proportion as the purchasing or manufacturing is large.

And this dividend on members' purchases is a real thing; it averages 12 cents on the dollar, thus the dividend on three months' purchases is sizeable. If you could purchase the necessities of life, food and clothing at a price that met any other fair store in town, and could count on a 12 per cent rebate on all you spent, would it interest you?

Occasionally the prices of the co-operative stores have been slightly higher than those of private stores, but the effect was merely that the member saved what before time he made a purchase put a few cents in his bank account, since he had just that much more coming to him on settling day.

### Many Purchasing Depots

Here is a typical example of a co-operative business. The North of England Wholesale Society began business in Manchester in 1864, and in 1871 became the English Wholesale Society.

This organization has purchasing and forwarding depots not only in England and Ireland, but in New York, Hamburg, Rouen, Copenhagen and Calais. It is the wholesale arm for a large group of societies.

The societies make bread, butter, clothes, boots, furniture, millinery, flour; often farm land; and invest increasing sums in building cottages to rent or sell to their members; also loan much money to members desiring to build.

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Another remarkable development of the Labor Co-partnership idea produced the famous South Metropolitan Gas Company, of London, which before the war had more than \$2,000,000 invested in it, by nearly 7,000 employees.

The number of societies today is 1,560, many of them with many stores called "branches," and with nearly 150,000 employees, of which total 80,000 are engaged in the distribution end of the business, and the balance in the production end. The year's business transacted by all the societies runs over \$500,000,000, with profits of \$60,000,000.

The difference between the English and the Continental co-operative systems is simply the interpretation of the word "credit". The Rochdale idea, and all its followers to this day, oppose the "credit" system; in other words, no member could spend against his future income. On the Continent, co-operation seeks by collective credit to put into the hands of working peasants, craftsmen and traders, the stock and tools with which to labor. The credit opposed by the English is the "credit or consumption" — the road to poverty; the credit sought by the Continent is the "credit for production" — the road to well-being.

Another form of co-operation, developed almost everywhere except in Great Britain, is agricultural.

The co-operation affects produc-

tion, marketing, ownership of expensive machinery in common, and insurance against risks. Thus the small farmer obtains the same advantages as the big farmer.

Denmark has developed it to a point of great success, the farmers practicing it in every form except for raising capital, which has seemed to be unnecessary. The Danish farmer, a century or so ago a serf, today is almost always a freeholder. The great educational movement of the middle nineteenth century in Denmark had remarkable results, and the regeneration of agriculture was one of them. The Rochdale plan, that is, the British co-operative store plan, entered the country about the same time, and in 1882 co-operation in agriculture began.

Almost every Danish village has its co-operative dairy, which can handle milk from 200 to 1,400, and even 2,000 cows. These dairies are productive societies in which the cow-owners are the shareholders, and all shareholders have equal rights and equal voting power, whether owning one cow or one hundred. They handle more than four-fifths of all the milk used in Denmark, and produce about \$50,000,000 worth of butter a year.

Similar co-operative organizations handle other phases of agricultural—collective buying of fodder, fertilizers and agricultural and household requisites, collecting and exporting eggs, bacon-curing, bee-

keeping, fruit-growing and so forth. The bacon-curing societies are of great size. Certainly, whether through co-operation or not, farming in Denmark has transformed the country from one of the poorest to one of the richest in Europe.



## Will Morning Never Come

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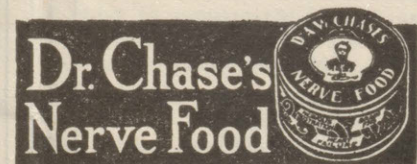
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### BRITISH RAILWAY WORKERS' RIGHTS

Claims of Men to Live Full Free Life Must Precede Shareholders' Claims to Dividends.

(Christian Science Monitor.)

London, England.—C. T. Cramp, of the National Union of Railwaymen, was among the speakers at a meeting of shareholders called to approve what is known as "the shareholders' statement," a public announcement of the shareholders' conviction that the claims of the workers to wages making it possible for them to live a full and

free life must come before the claims of shareholders to dividends.

Mr. Cramp said he wanted to speak about the feeling of the workers and what ought to be the attitude of shareholders. They would not find among the workers any desire for violent revolution or violent deprivation or dispossession, but unless there was a disposition on the part of capitalists and shareholders to surrender some part of what they had hitherto enjoyed there were in Great Britain all the elements of revolution. If the feeling of the workers was not sanely directed the risk was very great.

Railwaymen, he continued, had been impressed by the fact that the holdings in railways did not represent the money actually invested. There was such a thing as watered capital. They had no desire to inflict undue hardships on shareholders, but they recognized that there had been waste and jobbery on the railways, and that appointments had been made which could not be justified. Government control had eliminated some waste, and that was one of the few good things about government control.

Until transport was knit up as a whole and used for the benefit of the community there could not be an efficient transport system. He was a member of a committee which during the war controlled in some measure the operations of railways and ports, and if this was a good thing in face of an external enemy, it must be a good thing now that they had to meet the internal foe of poverty. Individual underakings must cease to cater for their own particular shareholders and must study the benefit of the public as a whole. They were accused of trying to overturn society, but as a fact they believed that, broadly speaking, there was a niche for every one to fill.

Capitalists would have to work in the future, for nobody ought to live in Great Britain who was unprepared to render useful service to the community either by hand or brain. There was, unfortunately, a disposition on the part of some workers to grab all they could for themselves, and he repeated that there were all the elements of revolution in the country. Capitalists and shareholders would have to give up something, and it would be better to do so voluntarily than under political or industrial pressure. Capital must retire as Labor advanced. There was no other way.

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A wail in the audience: "Has it come to that?"—Answers (London).

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## Education and Democracy

(By Professor J. A. Dale.)

WITHOUT education there can be no democracy. For ideally (and approximately in practice) democracy is made possible by the intelligence, knowledge and co-operative goodwill, of the greatest number of citizens possessed of these qualities—of all indeed who are worthy to be called citizens. And ideally (approximately again in practice) these are the qualities which education aims to bring about.

Of all industries this—the production of citizens—is the most difficult not only because the children who are its raw material are going in any case to grow up. Well or ill born, nourished, trained, fostered or cramped in physical or mental growth; carefully developed or wastefully exploited; they will grow up to exercise their mature wills and powers, and contribute to the asset and liability columns of the nation's account.

This fact affects all industries—it goes to the heart of their labor

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difficulty, while it points the way to some fundamental lines on which its solution can be attempted with good hope of success.

Another difficulty in education is illustrated by contrasting the material side of other industries. There, good brains have been able to isolate the particular problems of the particular industry, to see clearly what result is aimed at, and to adjust the means to that end. Not so in education. We all desire that as a result of it, the citizens shall be able to earn a decent living, build up a decent character, enjoy a decent life,

make a decent contribution to the world's work. But we are far from clear as to what we as a nation mean by these words. And we are quite at variance as to the means to be adopted to secure them.

We can not "apply" education as a mathematician does a formula or a chemist a reagent. It is itself a product, both in ideals and practice, of the social, economic and political conditions of the community. Thus, while a means of bringing about change, it is in constant danger of stagnation and in constant need of development. It can be used to give any desired set to the growing mind—to produce servility or independence and make a race of slaves or of freemen. History has its examples. But our education is not yet so clear as these extremes: it has in the conditions of the modern industrial democracy a harder problem. Groping towards the best, it has not yet produced, as its total result over the whole community, a high level of good citizenship, good leadership, good workmanship.

We are only beginning to understand its dependence on social, economic, political conditions, and to lay bare their human foundations. All that is best in the educational reforms of today is based on this:—that education must start from actual experience and enrich it. Emerging from the conditions of actual contemporary life, it must lead back to them, bringing to their betterment the results of organized experience.

It is a fundamental instinct of society to pass on to the rising generation the benefit of the experience of its fore-runners and so to make the best possible security for its own continuance. This is true all the way, from the modes of self-preservation of a primitive tribe, to the most disinterested of gospels. As society developed, this instinct became a conscious determination to gather and organize knowledge for use, though the particular use has varied time to time and place to place throughout a most interesting history. School systems were evolved in order to prepare children to acquire quickly and securely the fruits of long and costly experience.

This is most obvious in the technical field. A young student can learn enough in a few years, by following a carefully organized course of study (say in medicine or electricity), to apply effectively results which it has taken humanity thousands of years to reach. Not only so, but he is in a position to add to the sum of human knowledge, if he has the necessary brain and opportunity, and advance the limits of human power. This is the central fact about education. It is essentially an instrument of production.

This was the aspect of education most thoroughly grasped by Germany, Production and Conservation were her watchwords before they became ours. With extraordinary thoroughness she absorbed and applied the discoveries of other peoples, and built great industries on a

basis of technical education, which again rested on a foundation of general education. At the beginning of the 20th century, she had a better groundwork, and a better system of technical education, than any other country. Note the date. For, recent as it is, the development of other countries within the first decade of the century makes it necessary to modify the statement for a later date. But it remains true that in the organization of education for industrial purposes Germany had a clear lead.

The connection between German education and the collapse of German culture to its present abyss, demands more careful study, and there is much misunderstanding of it. Before the war German education seemed to very many a model to be imitated. Now that the conflict of ideals has blazed out, we ought to know in what respect it was a model, and in what not. Such knowledge will help us to clarify our own ideas. Perhaps we shall learn more from their failure than we could have hoped from their success, and search our own systems for signs of the Teutonic disease.

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## LABOR ALTERING ITS POLICY IN FRANCE

Before the War Workmen Advocated Overthrow of Capitalist System, but Now Improved Conditions Are Aimed At.

(From Christian Science Monitor.)

London, England—The Labor aspect of the reconstitution of the textile industries in the north of France is full of interest, and its full significance can only be understood when the situation just before the war is recalled. In 1913, the struggle for supremacy between the revolutionaries and the advocates of a moderate evolutionary policy in the French trade union movement had reached a critical stage. The Moderates, or Reformists had been reinforced in the

previous two or three years by the metal workers, railwaymen, textile workers, and several less important groups.

This was a severe blow to the leaders of the powerful section which stood for the policy of violent, "catastrophic" syndicalism (using that word in the sense of the syndicates, or unions). These revolutionaries opposed movements merely to improve conditions. They denounced agreements with employers, and advocated measures, such as constant "irritant" strikes, for the sole purpose of preparing the way for a final catastrophic struggle in which all workers would take part, and which would bring about the downfall of the capitalist system.

### Labor's Outlook Altered

The extraordinary turnover of opinion against this policy which has taken place throughout the French syndicalist movement during and since the war will be dealt with in an article on the general Labor situation. It is referred to here in order to illustrate the effect of the new industrial Labor outlook on the actual work of reconstructing the destroyed industries.

Before the war, the textile syndicates, like those in nearly all other industries, included only a small proportion of the workers employed. This was often ascribed to a temperamental disinclination of the French to combine, but recent events imply that this view was

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unsound, and that it was the defects of the organization of the revolutionaries which were chiefly responsible for numerical weakness. Friendly society benefits were tabooed, on the ground that diffused activities of the unions would obscure the revolutionary aims. This meant that only men of extreme views, who were willing to participate in constant strikes, and to undertake various forms of sabotage, were attracted to the syndicate.

### Former Policy Superseded

In the unions where the moderate policy gradually superseded the former revolutionary one, the membership tended to increase, and this is exemplified to an exceptional degree in the textile industries. The view gained ground that the final goal of control of industry and of the state could be best reached by a gradual process of improving the lot of the workers, by training them, and by securing a progressive share in the management of industries. This policy involved negotiations and agreements with employers, and as the economic pressure of high prices increased during and after the war the impulse to adopt this policy grew in strength.

The effect has been very marked. The proved ability of the federations of syndicates in various industries to raise wages and shorten hours, attracted more and more members, who looked for immediate benefits rather than for a future industrial Elysium. On the other hand, the process of combination among employers was stimulated, and in consequence recent trade union movements have taken on more of the character of British and American movements.

### Employers Organize

Immense progress has been made in the organization of the textile employers and workers, in their separate syndicates and federations of weavers, spinners, and so on. The employers' syndicate in the weaving section of the trade in the Lille group of towns included before the war only 25 per cent of the possible membership. Now it includes 95 per cent, and a movement has recently developed with the object of establishing a national federation of the master weavers in the wool, cotton, linen, and other textile industries throughout the whole of France. One of the objects is admittedly to resist any future demands of the operatives, which are considered to be beyond

the capacity of the industries to meet.

The effect of the negotiations which have been concluded between the employers and operatives, is the achievement of definite agreements for the various textile industries. These give many of the workers something like four times the wages received before the war. "La vie chère," as the French describe the increased cost of living, is from 250 to 300 per cent over pre-war standards, hence the status of the textile operatives has been substantially raised, as it has been in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some of the French employers hold strongly that the present wages are too high, but they admit that the pre-war rates were indefensibly low, and that if the recent agreements had not been concluded, industrial warfare would have imperiled all efforts to restart the industries. A bitter sectional strike in Lille, before the wages settlement was reached, illustrated the danger vividly.

### Good Will Created

As it is, the reformist movement in the textile syndicates has been greatly strengthened, and the good will created is shown by the willingness of the operatives to work a three-shift system, so as to get every possible ounce of production out of the available machinery. Employers with whom the writer discussed the question expressed the belief that industrial strife will not now stand seriously in the way of reconstruction in these particular industries. Before the war, many of the weavers and other operatives received only 3.50 francs a day, or just over \$4 a week. The working day was then 10 hours. Now it is eight, and the wage is 12 to 14 francs a day, equal to \$15 or \$17.50 a week. Foremen get up to 125 francs, and, as in England, the laborer's status has been raised still higher in proportion. Unskilled or semi-skilled work can command higher wages than the operatives' rate. As in England, the "black-coated workers," clerks, accountants, and so on, have been left behind by the manual workers. They are not organized in a syndicate in the north of France, but a movement has been started, and negotiations for higher salaries are being carried on.

While for the time being Labor difficulties have been removed from the path of the employers, they are finding the high cost of equipment and repairs very troublesome, and progress toward full productive capacity in the mills is retarded by extraordinary delays in transport and the coal shortage. It is impossible, however, not to be impressed by the courage and persistence with which both the employers and the workers are grappling with a task such as no industrial community has ever before been called on to undertake.

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## LABOR'S FITNESS

(Ottawa Citizen.)

Winston Churchill's gratuitous statement to the effect that British labor was not fit to govern the country has called forth some biting remarks from the representatives of the workers, Robert Blatchford referring to the war minister as a "political popinjay". But there are protests from other quarters which are more significant than the natural expressions of resentment by the delegates of the labor group. Quite the most surprising is the attitude of the London Statist, the journal read mostly by the capitalist classes and which represents largely the financial groups. The Statist declares that it would be difficult to find anywhere "clearer proof of unfitness than can be brought both against the Tories and the Liberals". Of the Labor party as an organization it says that it has arisen in the teeth of a hostile judiciary, hostile juries, a hostile parliament, and now is fighting on equal terms with both the great parties which so long have governed the country and is winning to its support large numbers who have hitherto looked down on it. This great financial journal also adds: "The Labor members live so nearly in the way of the very poor that they are able to understand the abominations from which the very poor suffer. And, consequently, they are qualified to speak for the very poor, and to sketch out the remedies to raise them to a higher state."

The minister of war has evidently exposed a vulnerable point. It would have been better tactics to have avoided the implied class touch in his original declaration regarding the fitness of workers to rule. The new spirit of the times is more likely to regard the workers mentally as the country was glad to consider them physically when danger threatened. If the workers were good enough to go out and fight the Germans it is just possible that they are good enough to rule the country they saved from invasion and disaster, or at least take a fair share in its ruling. The Manchester Guardian, in some recent statistics, pointed out that out of 2 1-2 million men examined for military service, between November, 1917, and October, 1918, only three in nine could be called fit. Of course the pick of the country had joined up before this, but the figures are nevertheless such as to cause serious thought. Six unfit men of every nine does not speak any too loudly for the success of former governments in the matter of social legislation or measures designed to protect the workers from the effects of low wages, long hours and unsanitary living conditions.



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## HEALTH and DECENCY

(By Scott Nearing, in "Federated Press".)

Health and decency cost money in these United States — just how much is indicated in a recent report of the United States department of labor. This report "presents the results of a study made to determine the cost of maintaining a family of a government employee in Washington at a level of health and decency." "Health and decency" are thus defined:

1. A sufficiency of nourishing food for the maintenance of health, particularly the children's health.
2. Housing in low rent neighborhoods and within the smallest possible number of rooms consistent with decency, but with sufficient light, heat and toilet facilities for the maintenance of health and decency.
3. The upkeep of household equipment, such as kitchen utensils, bedding, and linen necessary for health, but with no provision for the purchase of additional furniture.
4. Clothing sufficient for warmth, of a sufficiently good quality to be economical, but with no further regard for appearance and style than is necessary to permit the family members to appear in public and within their rather narrow social circle without slovenliness or loss of self-respect.
5. A surplus over the above expenditures which would permit of only a minimum outlay for such necessary demands as (a) street car fares to and from work and necessary rides to stores and markets; (b) the keeping up of a modest amount of insurance; (c) medical and dental care; (d) contributions to churches and labor or benefit organizations; (e) simple amusements, such as the moving pictures once in a while, occasional street car rides for pleasure, some Christmas gifts for the children, etc; (f) daily newspaper.

This modest "health and decency" standard, for a family consisting of a man, wife and three children—a boy of 11, a girl of 5 and a boy of 2 years of age—cost, in the city of Washington, during October, 1919, \$2,288.25.

Two thousand, two hundred and eighty-eight dollars and twenty-five cents! Any man, with a young family of three, whose income was less than that amount during October, 1919, could not live in Washington, on a standard of health and decency. Two thousand, two hundred and eighty-eight dollars a year is between \$7 and \$8 per working day. If these working days are of eight hours, that means about \$1 per hour.



## Side-Lines

(By KENNEDY CRONE)

LAST Saturday I was in God's own church, the quiet countryside, to see it break the winter grip, with the ice of the lake floating out to the sea, the buds forming on trees and shrubs, and the birds back from the south. A certain solemn greyness of the scene, in the transition from the cold majesty of winter to the warm glories of summer, was relieved by the charm of the new life springing up everywhere that one cared to look closely enough.

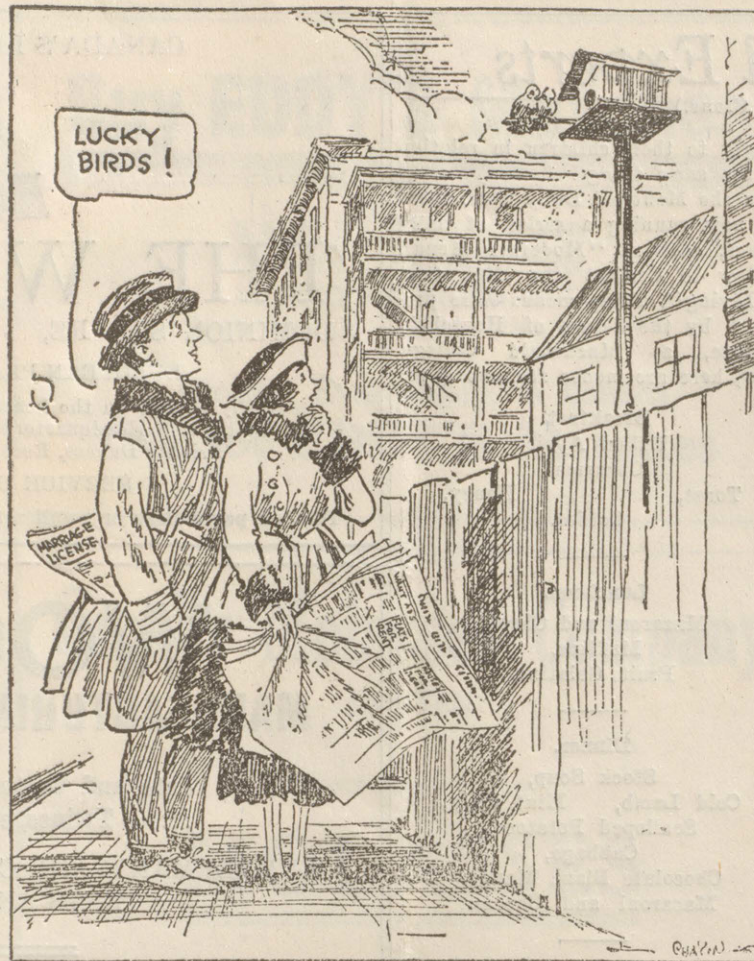
I trod a particular tiny square of earth with special gladness and curiosity, for it was seven months since I had seen it and it was a close friend. Not very prepossessing, as pieces of earth go, perhaps a dull picture to those whose range of choice is greater, to me it had many appeals, because it was my own, and I knew many intimate things about it and had woven many thoughts and associations through it that the passing stranger might not observe or comprehend. Not much — but mine and me.

And on it stood (as well as it could), the Castle. No nice dressed stone, or tapestry brick, not even a "modern bungalow". Only a shack, crude, cramped and crazy, like one of those things you see in the movies when there is a blood feud on in the Virginny mountains and the gaunt old person takes down a rifle from the rafters to pay his respects to the clan on the next clearing. You know the sort of thing — rough boards, home carpentering, a rusty stovepipe for a chimney, a string of dishpans hanging outside the door. Well, that's something like the Castle. Still, it is a Castle. I built it with my own hands. "I thought so", said a friend once. He had the distant view; he could not see the Castle, whose every board and nail I knew. Not much, indeed, but all I could do; not much — but mine and me.

I am at home there in the summer evenings; at home in old overalls and old boots, yet still at home. If I want to, I can dig down to Australia. I can put in the ground any tree, shrub, flower or vegetable I fancy, and watch it grow, as my property. I can chop off the east wing of the Castle and stick it on the west if the notion strikes me.

The rest of the year I live in a flat that somebody else owns and hires out to me.

The thing that worries most about being at home in a free seat in God's own church is that there are so many empty seats, and so many people who would like to be in them, but cannot.



THE NEWLYWEDS LOOKING FOR A HOME

## War and Race

(Contributed)

THE dogs of war were let loose much more easily than they can be driven back into their kennels. The greatest peace treaty of the ages is proving futile and defective. The spirit of peace cannot be imparted by the greatest and most representative assemblies nor by verbosity illustrated by gorgeous seals. The task of today is to promote the spirit of mutual tolerance, and it should begin by a recognition of the fact that no nation can be humbled too much and that there is a time limit to any nation's patience in submitting to the presence of a huge mobilized army. Peace is not coming by incarcerating hundreds of citizens in jail, as is being done in Ireland. No age more than this age has demonstrated the fact that if a principle is fought for with tenacity and endurance by a people willing to suffer and die, it will ultimately triumph. It is impossible today to stamp out certain movements as happened with the Huguenots, because the minorities gain friends in other parts of the world who are accessible through telegraphs and ships and banks.

The military power must not be allowed to rule in any part of the world. Phillip Gibbs in his latest book "What may now be Told", brings out very clearly the horror of war: in fact, in each succeeding work of this brilliant journalist and war correspondent, the horrors of the past five years seem to accumulate in his mind. The nations are sick of war, and it is time that people should seek and cultivate good relations with their neighbors, whether another nation, or another type of citizen.

With the cultivation of tolerance, there must be freedom of speech, reading and writing. The effort to curb the expression of the human mind, even when it is at times distorted, is useless, and the imposition of penitentiary sentences is not going to help in the development of a better understanding in a young country. Tariff walls for intellects can be more easily battered down than tariff walls for commerce.

Caedmon.

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## Those Food Experts

(By Kennedy Crone.)

WILL some household science experts please study the finances and the diet of the mass of the citizens, and let us know how to make the best of what we have, not of what the experts suppose us to have, or think we ought to have?

During the war the Food Bureau at Ottawa issued a lot of "low-cost" and "substitute" menus and other hints on household "economy", which the ordinary Canadian housewife could have knocked into a cocked hat so far as economy and substitution were concerned; had she been affluent enough to do what the Government experts suggested in the way of "saving", she would have considered herself to be living on the fat of the land. Possibly these menus and other hints have spelt economy in Westmount and like places; ordinary flat-dwellers already knew how to economize much more effectively; they had to know.

Also during the war, cookery classes were being held in Montreal schools in the evenings, and housewives who attended in the hope of learning further economy came away again because they felt that they were being taught additional extravagance. At present, girls are being taught in school a good deal of cookery and household ways unsuitable to most of the homes from which the children come, either on the score of cost or excessive labor. Mothers in the homes have more economical and quicker ways, and generally better ways, of doing things, than are being

taught to their children in relation to the same things.

In the Montreal Daily Star, there is now running a series of daily menus, entitled "Moderate Menus.—How to Combat the High Cost of Living". These menus were prepared by the School of Household Science, at Macdonald College. Now, here are menus for two days:

### Breakfast.

Baked Apple,  
Cornmeal,  
Toast, Honey,  
Coffee.

### Luncheon.

Macaroni and Cheese.  
Muffins,  
Fruit Gelatine.

### Dinner.

Stock Soup,  
Cold Lamb, Mint Jelly,  
Scalloped Potatoes,  
Cabbage,  
Chocolate Blanc Mange.  
Macaroni and Cheese.

### Breakfast.

Oatmeal.  
Scrambled Eggs on Toast,  
Toast, Marmalade,  
Coffee, Milk.

### Luncheon.

Thick Vegetable Soup,  
Fried Cornmeal, Jelly,  
Gingerbread, Apple Sauce.

### Dinner.

Beef Stew,  
Mashed Potatoes, Carrots,  
Rice Pudding.  
Fried Cornmeal.

Thousands of Montreal homes could not afford such moderate menus. A fairly substantial wage would need to be coming into the home to provide them, a wage higher than that of the ordinary manual or office worker. Yet these menus are reasonable in cost, and in time and utensils required in production, compared to many menus appearing in print or taught in cookery classes.

It might not be a bad plan for dieticians and household science experts to leave their text books, their elaborate equipment, their leisurely methods and their other resources in money, kind and time, and go into the homes of some of the plain people who are facing difficult practical problems of how to feed a family. They might learn things about economy and efficiency that they did not know before, and they would be better able in future to bring their education and training to bear in the right places and in the right way.

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## SUCH EXTRAVAGANCE

(By Anise, in the Federated Press)

Beautiful gowns  
Gleamed in the half-light  
Of the drawing-room  
In a certain residence  
On one of our hills.  
And as the guests mingled  
In leisured movement,  
A tall and handsome lady  
In a stunning georgette gown  
Was heard to say:  
"I have already paid  
Over a thousand this year  
For CLOTHES  
For my DAUGHTER  
At the university  
And then  
At this latest PARTY  
She wanted  
A NEW GOWN!  
I told her I simply  
COULDN'T AFFORD  
Another two hundred  
But of course she hated  
To go in a costume  
She had already worn.  
So we compromised  
And bought some new slippers  
With rather handsome  
JEWELLED buckles  
And some stockings to match  
In one of the new shades,  
And changed the ORNAMENTS  
On an evening gown  
She had worn ONCE.  
It came altogether  
To less than SEVENTY dollars  
And was practically as good  
AS NEW!  
You really HAVE to do  
All sorts of PLANNING  
The way the PRICES  
Have RISEN!"  
The conversation shifted  
To many other subjects  
But half an hour later  
As groups mingled again  
The georgette lady was saying:  
"It's a good thing  
For these SHIPYARD workers  
To be out of a job  
For a little while,  
Though of course  
It's rather hard on business.  
But maybe it will teach them  
To SAVE!  
Why, my dear,  
You have no idea  
Of their EXTRAVAGANCE  
When they were making  
Those ENORMOUS wages!  
My husband tells me  
They thought NOTHING  
Of spending FIFTY dollars  
For a coat or a gown  
For their DAUGHTERS!"

—:o:—

### A SENTIMENTAL VALUE

"There's talk of abolishing the nickel."  
"That shows that as a people  
we have no sentiment."  
"How so?"  
"Why, if we had, we would  
keep it if only as a reminder of  
the good old days when we could  
buy something with it."—Judge.

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## THE SCAB

By Marcus W. Robbins

I

In the slime and ooze  
Of that distant time.  
When all life  
Was crawling  
And reptilian,  
The Ancestor  
Of the Scab  
Was born  
From the love match  
Of two creatures  
Met by chance  
In a dark cavern.  
Yellow, spineless,  
With horrid shape,  
And slobbering noise,  
With dull gleam  
In the eyes.

II

The shadow  
Of a faint intelligence,  
But full of venom,  
Greed and Envy.  
The offspring  
Brought forth  
Was worthy  
Of its parenthood.  
So today,  
The Scab harks back,  
And carries on him,  
All the stigmata  
Of that primordial time.  
A creature to disgust  
The race of men,  
And to be shunned  
By all who stand upright.

—:o:—

### GROUPS COME WITHOUT P. R.

(Manitoba Free Press.)

The objection that P. R. encourages the substitution of groups for the two-party system might be valid if it went deep enough. But nothing can be gained by trying to maintain the two-party system when it no longer corresponds to the facts or to prevent the formation of groups by denying to those which have an actual existence in the electorate an effective voice in legislation. The demand for P. R. arises from the desire to make parliaments representative. If the electorate desire the two-party system P. R. will merely proportion the strength of parties in parliament to their strength in the electorate. To that there can be no valid objection. On the other hand, if the electorate is divided into more than two sections only harm can result from leaving any which is numerically powerful to labor under a sense of impotence and grievance.

—:o:—

### ANGELIC QUALITIES

No doubt the women will agree with the Bishop Burch, of New York, that they are angels. But then, he adds, they are always up in the air, always harping on something, and always in need of clothes. That's different.—Washington Herald.



## Illegal Strike Of Railroaders In U. S. Not A Genuine Industrial Trouble

In the mass of news from day to day about the illegal strike of railroaders in the United States, it is difficult to get a square look at the whole thing, but the following items picked from the mass clearly show up some of the main angles:

### Fight With Radicals

Cleveland, April 9.—A signed statement was issued here tonight by the chiefs of the four big transportation brotherhoods saying the present strike of switchmen was originated for the purpose of destroying the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union of North America, and that the wage demand later was injected for the purpose of deceiving yardmen throughout the country and promoting the One Big Union idea.

The statement follows: "The present strike of men engaged in switching service was originated in Chicago by a new organization that has for its purpose the destruction of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union and in its inception had nothing to do with the wage question, but was a demand for the reinstatement of the leader of this opposition organization. After this strike was instituted for this purpose the leaders of the new organization then injected the wage question for the sole purpose of deceiving the yardmen throughout the United States and promoting the One Big Union idea. There can be no settlement of pending wage questions while this illegal action continues. We insist that every member of these brotherhoods do everything within his power to preserve the existing contracts, which, if abrogated, may take years to rebuild. The laws of all of these organizations provide penalties for members engaging in illegal strikes, and these penalties will be enforced." (Signed), L. E. Shepard, president, Order Railroad Conductors; W. G. Lee, president Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen; W. S. Stone, grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; W. S. Carter, president, Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen."

### Condemned by Gompers

Cleveland, April 12. — Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, who arrived in Cleveland today, declared the walk-out a mistake and said the Federation would support the brotherhoods in their struggle with the insurgent strikers. He will confer with brotherhood chiefs tomorrow.

W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, said he had received many reports from brotherhood chairmen throughout the country announcing improved conditions.

### Unionists to Help

New York, April 12.—Union labor's co-operation in an effort to break the unauthorized strike of railroad workers here was pledged tonight by representatives of the four big railroad brotherhoods in conference with the representatives of the eastern roads. A statement given out after the meeting characterized the strike as "a mob movement" and asserted it was "bound to break."

### Attempt to Disrupt

Heads of the railroad brotherhoods tonight denounced the strike as purely an attempt to disrupt the old union.

The Managers' Association promised the brotherhood officials several days ago that the union would be given an opportunity to break the strike with their own men who have remained loyal. The managers, it was announced today, are satisfied with the progress made.

Important developments of the day were the ordering of an investigation of the strike by the Senate, and an announcement by W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, that the brotherhood would oppose any attempt to settle the walkout by mediation.

The strike had become a clear cut fight between the recognized railroad organizations and the radical element among the rail workers, brotherhood officers said.

### Help From Canada

Washington, April 13.—Evidence is in the hands of the Department of Justice that help is being sent from Canada for the strikers participating in the unauthorized railroad strike, according to Assistant Attorney-General Garvan, in a statement made today. Mr. Garvan did not know the extent of this aid. Labor leaders of the I.W.W. type, he said, had been traced from Canadian boundary cities to various trouble centres here. Their principal efforts seemed to be to break the ranks of loyal shop workers, reports at the department said.

Officials admitted tonight that they saw signs of an attempt to expand the rail strike into "one phase of a world revolution."

Propaganda of I.W.W. origin calling upon all railroad workers to join in asserting their power and tempting them with the statement that "the golden opportunity for

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which you have been looking has arrived," has been found by federal agents. Officials said they believed this unseen power had walk-out, "months and months of I. W. W. campaigning" to the end having been disclosed. Reports today told of inroads into the ranks of shopmen in many centres and of unrest in all. They also uncovered the nature of I.W.W. propaganda in process of distribution some described as being "as dangerous as the communist literature." All of it advocated the "One Big Union" idea and urged the strikers and "faint-hearted" to secede from affiliation with the four great railway brotherhoods.

### No Strike in Canada

Winnipeg, April 12.—Announcement was made today by A. J. Ryall, chairman of the general committee of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Canadian National Western Lines, that, so far as the brotherhood was concerned, he knew nothing of any contemplated strike of yardmen or trainmen on the Canadian National Railways.



## The Opportunity of the American Teacher

(By HAROLD J. LASKY, Lecturer  
in History and Government,  
Harvard University.)

The movement of the unionization of American teachers has its roots in obvious economic circumstances which cry to heaven for remedy. They will not be changed until the governing bodies of the American school system are convinced that behind the demand for better wages and conditions of work there is a pressure that is ultimately irresistible. Those bodies will not be convinced until they are brought to understand that behind the teachers' demands there lies not merely the integrated power of labor's approval, but, what is more important, the political influence that labor alone can exert.

Private unions will do no good. They are, by the very fact of their privacy, out of touch with the dominating stream of modern change. They are hampered by a genteel tradition which makes them unwilling to face the obvious facts of the situation in a realistic spirit. There is too much in them of a sense that intellectual labor somehow makes their position too "dignified" for alliance with the workers by hand. School committees will regard them with the approval which derives from the knowledge that they can never be dangerous. And it is a fundamental axiom of politics that what is without dan-

THE ICE CREAM YOU GET IN SOME SHOPS NOW-A-DAYS HAS A SORT OF "PROFESSIONAL TASTE." IT NEVER QUITE SATISFIES. WHEN IT COMES TO ICE CREAM CREATIONS OUR SPECIALISTS DISPLAY THEIR GENIUS. WHAT YOU HAVE THAT DIRE LONGING FOR YOU CAN GET IF YOU SAY THE WORD. CITY DAIRY FRENCH CHOCOLATE HAS NO EQUAL — TRY A PINT PACKAGE OF "CITY DAIRY FRENCH CHOCOLATE" TO-NIGHT.

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ger is in every real crisis without power.

But it is less of the importance of the affiliation of teachers to the American Federation of Labor that I desire to write than of the teacher's function as members of that body. They are therein given an opportunity of service such as falls to few men and women. Foreign observers of American labor can hardly fail to be impressed by the divorce of interest in this country between brainworkers and handworkers.

The distrust of the former is in large part responsible for the comparative failure of American labor either to evolve a philosophy that summarizes its general outlook or to secure an alliance with its sympathizers in other classes of workers which enables it to count upon a widespread understanding of its attitude. Yet both of these are essential to the progress of the movement. Labor will be able to do little towards an effective control of the state until its claims can be supported by the same kind of organized knowledge as is now available to the capitalist. It will be unable to obtain that material until it attracts into its service trained thinkers with a full equipment for using the technique of modern economic research. It seems to me that the teachers have a special service to render to labor in this regard. They are the liaison officers between the workers and an important section of the general public whose vague sympathy can be turned into active support.

For the teachers' influence in American life is bound to grow with the years. American labor has discovered that without education it is handicapped at every turn. In bargaining with the employer, in appealing to the public, in pressure upon legislatures, it is meeting a skilful antagonist trained in the presentation of his case. The material of labor's future lies in the schools; and it is only as labor befriends the teacher that the schools can grow to understand its aims. There is, that is to say, a reciprocity in the relationship between the teachers and the American Federation of Labor which may well be decisive for the future. There are few subjects in which the proper appreciation of labor problems is not significant. The teacher of civics,

for example, has a vital task to perform in explaining the relation of labor problems to the more general political issues; and the same is true of history and economics. That does not mean that the teacher is definitely to regard himself as the advocate of labor. It simply means a realization on his part of the duty properly to emphasize the significance of labor problems.

Everyone who has taught in a university knows how difficult it is to dissipate the unconscious prejudice against labor that is the outcome of the normal middle-class environment. The worker's life is largely unknown; his problems are misunderstood; his aims go without analysis. Yet the future of America most largely depends upon training the youth of this generation to a sympathetic understanding of trade-unionism. That task seems peculiarly incumbent upon the American Federation of Teachers.

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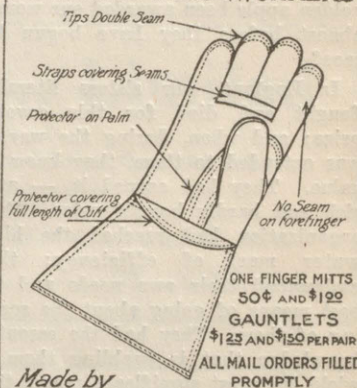
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## Preparedness for Women; Vision not Violence

(By ETHEL LENORE  
GNAEDINGER.)

THE day for the necessity of a "Shrieking Sisterhood" as the martyrs in the cause of Women's Suffrage were called in England, is forever gone. Even in the Province of Quebec, women are to have the vote. It is not too much to hope that it will only be a question of months before the women in Zululand may share the same privilege.

Now the grave question is: are the women of our province sufficiently developed for the exercises of such serious authority? This is a responsibility that calls for a fine sanity and an educated view point. Has this golden apple been awarded our women almost before they have begun the race?

In England, our sisters literally fought and died for this coveted prize; and when, during the war, it was extended to them, they knew its value. They had earned it, — at a rich and hardly bought price. Their organization had reached the high-water mark of efficiency; they understood their own needs and the best means of going about the securing of them. They had the essential knowledge that is enabling them to wield the most significant power that lies in the hands of women: the vote.

As far back as 1792 there were voices crying in their night. In 1792, under the influence of the French Revolution, Mary Wollstonecraft had published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women." There are many indications that the question was "in the air."

In 1825, Mr. William Thompson published

"an appeal of one half of the human race — women — against the pretensions of the other half — men — to retain them in political, and thence in civil and domestic slavery, in reply to a paragraph of Mr. Mill's celebrated article on Government," "which classed women among the individuals whose interests are indisputably included in those of other individuals, and who may therefore be struck off from political rights without inconvenience."

By one of the strange turns of fate, it was James Stuart Mill, the son of the man whose singular unenlightenment enabled him to class women as individuals with no distinctive individual claims, who, forty years later, wrote "the most vigorous attack ever penned against the 'Subjection of Women.'"

One great impetus to the cause of Women's Suffrage was the political discussion introduced into so many homes over the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. The insertion of the word "male" before "persons" in the Reform Bill was premeditatedly planned to exclude women from the

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Franchise: yet it is an ironical fact that the interest aroused in English homes over this Bill first stirred many women to the awakening knowledge of their real political needs. Nor was it many years before the American agitation in the same cause reached England.

In 1851, an article by Mrs. John Stuart Mill was published in "The Westminster Gazette" setting forth the Convention at Worcester in 1850. "In the same year the first petition of Englishwomen claiming the elective franchise was sent up to the House of Lords from the Sheffield Female Political Association." By a curious anachronism, while in the year 1848

Englishwomen were refused the right of a share in their own government, the female shareholders of the East India Company were privileged to vote for the rulers of India! — a prerogative which a belated Montagu Bill is only to-day advocating for the native born men of that vast Empire.

The Anti-Corn Law movement continued the agitation begun by the Reform Bill. This was the parallel stimulus in England that the anti-slavery movement had been to America.

Mr. Richard Cobden, the leader of the Anti-Corn Law movement, and John Stuart Mill, were the two great protagonists of the Women's Suff-

frage cause of that time. In 1865 when Mr. Mill was returned for Westmoreland, a Bill for extending the Franchise was before the country, and the moment was opportune for the urging of women's rights. The elegant Disraeli gave the final impetus to the movement in a speech in which he said: "I do not see, whereas a woman has so much to do with the State and Church (he probably meant the support of the Church!) on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

On June 7th, 1886, a petition with 1499 signatures was taken to the House of Commons by Miss Emily Davies and Miss Garnett.

As an amendment to the Representation of the People Bill, on May 20th, 1867, Mr. Mill moved the word "men" should be left out and the word "person" inserted in its place. The amendment was lost by 123 votes.

The Reform Act of 1867 incorporated wide changes in the Franchise. In this new Act a slight changing of the words made it possible for the women to assume that the Act included their liberty to vote. On the strength of this some test cases were made by placing the names of duly qualified women on the register. In Manchester, 5,000 women householders claimed their right under the new Act. Their names were placed on the register, and they awaited objections. The cases were decided against them; and as women had no right to the appeal granted by the Registration Act, they were denied a hearing by the Court.

On May 4th, 1870, the Bill for the removal of the electoral disabilities of women, moved by Mr. Jacob Bright, passed its second reading by a majority of 124 to 91. It went into Committee on May 12th, and, through one of Mr. Gladstone's numerous reactionary interventions, was rejected.

Interest increased and opposition raged. The cause rose and ebbed. Early in the eighties, Mr. Gladstone was again in power. He was extending the Household and Lodger Franchise to the counties as well as the boroughs. This would include agricultural laborers, — many of them absolutely illiterate, although fourteen years had elapsed since the passing of the Elementary Education Act. It was a psychological moment for the women. If these men were to be privileged, what of the splendid intellects of the women who still held the status of children and imbeciles!

A country-wide campaign was inaugurated. Votaries of the cause spoke to crowded halls. Monster demonstrations were held in Manchester, London, Bristol, Birmingham, Bradford, Nottingham, Sheffield, Glasgow and Edinburgh; and everywhere memorials to the Government were unanimously adopted. The entire country seemed ripe for the change.

In 1883, one hundred and ten members of Parliament signed and presented to Mr. Gladstone a memorial stating that no Franchise would be satisfactory that omitted the women. Everything seemed working together for those who had labored and suffered. In Parliament a Liberal member proposed and a Conservative sec-



ended an amendment of the Bill, in favor of women. Enter again the figure of Mr. Gladstone. The Liberals were quietly advised that their leader would not allow them to use their own discretion, that: "The cargo which the vessel carries is, in our opinion, a cargo as large as she can carry."

If Mr. Gladstone could, he would also, in 1854, have hauled up the gang-plank when Florence Nightingale was stepping aboard, to the consternation of "family traditions, prejudices, War Offices, bureaucrats and officials great and small." But this intrepid angular lady got on board, and she did not sink the ship!

When it came to the point, one hundred and four professed friends, under the orders of the G. O. M., broke their pledges and "helped to throw the women overboard." The "women and children first" ruling of the high seas was in sad disrepute in those days.

"Thus ended the second act of the great Suffrage drama." But . . . some of the women clung to the ship!

And so on through all the troubled ways, the women of England carried the beacon light of Truth and Freedom into the days of the "Shrieking Sisterhood" that we all know so well. Days of picketing: days of despair: days of contumely and hideous persecution: days of undying courage: days of humiliation: days of hunger strikes: days of physical violence; dastardly days of injustice, neglect, and be-

trayal. On, on, they swept, — the valiant band. "Votes for Women" rang through the corridors of Government.

At last! When women had borne the sons who could carry on war; when women had received into their withering arms the dead bodies of their men who had carried arms; when women had hungered and thirsted, — had rallied and ever rallied the hungry and thirsty; had filled the gaps with the unconquerable and invincible spirit; — when all tears were dried because there were no more tears to shed, — then women received the vote. It was not given to them, — that would have been generous! They won it. To their everlasting glory they fought and bled and died for it.

Do we in this country know the difference between getting a thing and winning it? The difference is vast, — and extremely subtle. What have we really done, the women of Canada, to win the vote? What, especially, save among a microscopic few, has been done by the women in the Province of Quebec?

For thirty years in Ontario women had been preparing for "the day". For fifteen years there has been a fine, enlightened and organized movement for that essential preparedness without which electoral privileges become a menace rather than a mode of salvation. In Ontario there are women trustees and alderwomen. In Western provinces, where legislation on certain questions is ten years in advance of us, several women have accepted candidacy for the next parliamentary election. These, be it known, are not University women, or progressive wives of rich husbands, but women of the laboring classes. They are well-informed women of capacity, with a grasp of affairs and real knowledge of the needs of those whom they will represent. All this is hopeful and inspiring.

How are we, in Quebec, equipped for our trust? Be it remembered, that the Franchise is a sacred trust for the future and our children. The way in which we vote now advances or retards the clock of the generations that are to follow. The need for enlightenment, for vision, is not greater among the laboring class than among their more fortunate sisters. Are there many of the well-to-do women who are sufficiently instructed to vote in the most intelligent way? I doubt it. Are they well informed on the issues that confront this great country? I question it. Have they, except in the most general way, any accurate knowledge of the mighty Labor Movement that is convulsing Great Britain, Europe and India? Are they familiar with the terms of the Whitley Report, and the wonderful strides made in England even since the armistice? England is the very vanguard of progressive legislation on all questions pertaining to the Labor Movement.

What we most need, laboring women, those who work with hand or

brain; well-to-do women, whose interests are philanthropic; and women whose interests are hard to define, is: **A new viewpoint to conform with the new social order, — a new social order not that is to come, but that is upon us.** Those who have been legislated for throughout all the years are about to legislate for themselves. This is the great fact whose significance is little short of staggering. The well-known idea of patronage from above is, we rejoice to say, to be levelled to an intelli-

gent co-operation for the best interests of humanity all along the line, from the lowly and oppressed to the singularly protected. **Vision not Violence** should be our earnest prayer.

We are on the threshold of the most amazing moment in human history. We are on the verge of the enfranchisement of humanity. We dare not falter. We owe it to all the brave women of all ages to record the living truth upon the unwritten page of history.

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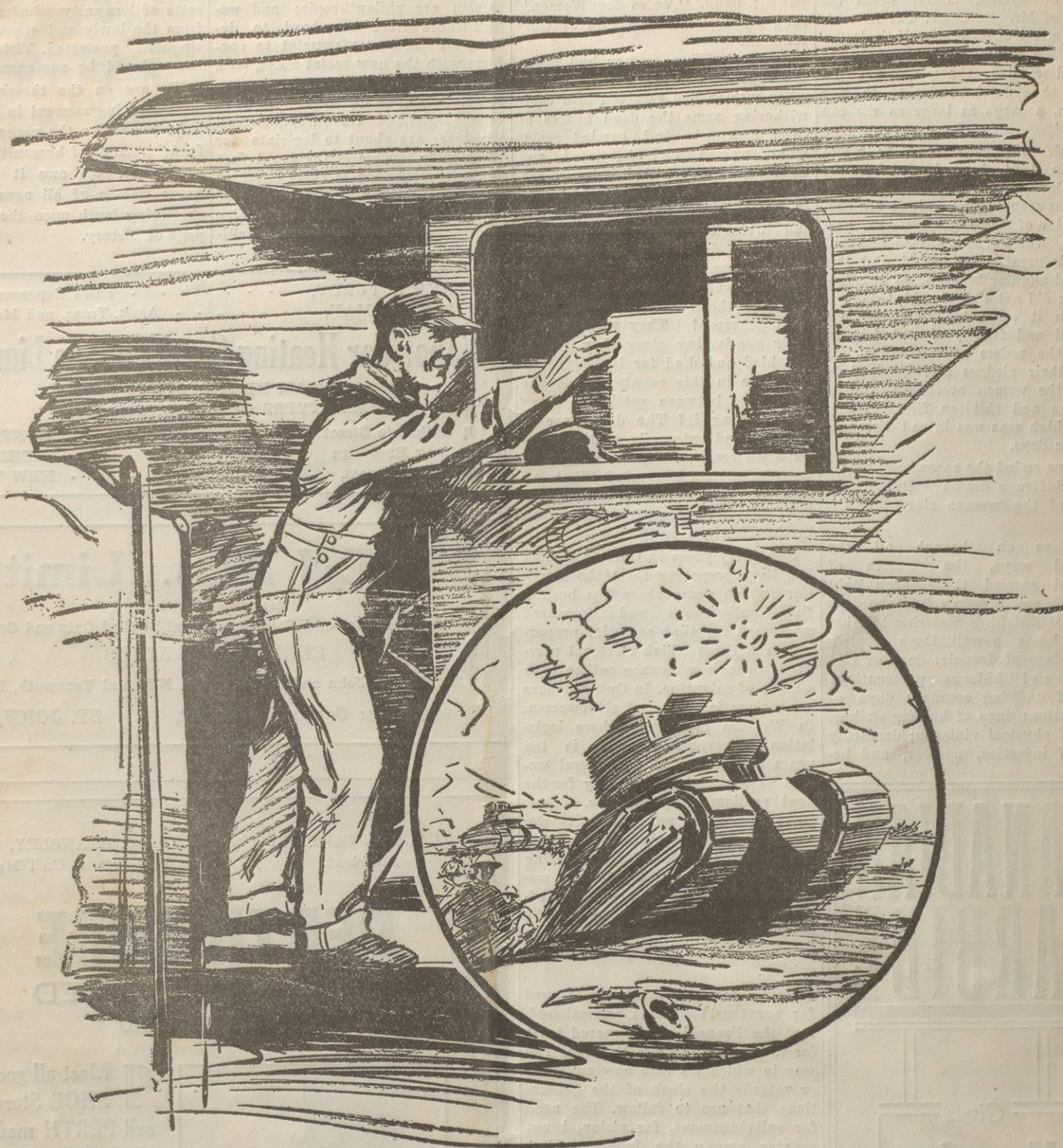
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